The Non-Voilent Economy
and
World Peace

By

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This pamphlet places before the public an edited collection of 18 articles of Sri J. C. Kumarappa on the subject of World Peace. These have been written or delivered as speeches on various occasions during the course of the last eight years. Herein Sri Kumarappa traces the basic foundations for establishing peace in the world

War is an unmitigated evil shunned by every one. The devastations of the last two world conflagrations are still fresh in the minds of many of us. But, it seems, we have still not become aware of the basic causes that were instrumental in setting the world on fire. The common people everywhere are unanimous in their desire for peace. Unfortunately, peace is not a state of affairs that can be bought at a price in the open market. Peace is a culture that has got to be cultivated in the heart of the people by dint of their daily conduct and attitude.

The present day wars are chiefly the resultant of our economic activities. Nations are becoming more and more capitalistic. Capitalism is a self-centred way of life based on greed, jealousy and might. Imperialism is its outgrowth controlling the sources of raw materials, providing employment for a select few, and creating world-wide markets are its features. These functions call for a well equipped army,

navy, air force and a number of other armaments to keep down others All these only multiply violence in the world. This path can never lead to world peace

Every individual is a potential field for the cultivation of peace Only people have not yet realised their inherent powers Each one of our activities either promotes circumstances for peace or for war. When we buy articles produced by centralised industries we become a party to the many atrocities that are committed by capitalism and imperialism

We have Sarvodaya that instills the fundamental idea of self sufficiency in basic needs Self sufficiency of the individuals is the self-sufficiency of the nation and that means peace in the world. These ideas form the basis of the following articles and they are presented in the inimitable and unique style of Sri Kumarappa.

Some of these articles have already appeared in our previous publications"Peace and Prosperity' and "Banishing War". As both of these are now out of print we do not feel any apology is needed for repeating them here We are grateful to such journals as the Aryan Path, the Harijan, the Gram Udyog Patrika and others in which this matter has appeared for permission to collect these articles in pamphlet form for the convenience of the public.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The common man everywhere is sick unto death of war and war mongering but he does not clearly see how to do away with this belligerency among nations. People are becoming conscious of the urgency of finding a solution to this fast spreading epidemic of violence.

In the main there are three approaches in seeking "Peace". The Soviets hope to obtain it by working for the well-being of the greatest number even though their means may inflict violence on a minority. The U S. A. organises to get the greatest wealth to a very small minority and some welbeing to the middle class. And thus they seek to pacify them. Sarvodaya, in India, seeks, as the word implies, the uplift of every one. In doing so, there can be no violence at all. Hence the title to this pamphlet emphasises the means to be employed.

This pamphlet is put out with the hope that it would be suggestive of one way out of the morass.

I am glad that the Sarva Seva Sangh has found it possible to publish this pamphlet.

Kovalam Ashram,
Kalainagar,
25 November 1953.

J. C. Kumarappa

CONTENTS

I

ON EARTH PEACE

This is a season when all Christians celebrate the advent of the Meseiah whose mission was to usher in peace on earth and goodwill towards men. Hence, it makes it incumbent on all of us to see that the way in which we celebrate this event is in consonance with the spirit of Jesus.

The traditional way of observing this festival by *feasting and exchanging gifts requires careful thought.* We cannot feast if such action necessitates others' fasting. We may not give gifts which portend strife. We are responsible not only for our own actions but also for the acts of others which are conditioned by our requirements. If we use milk and milk-products for which the surrounding countryside is scoured leaving little or nothing even for the children of the producers of milk, then we become parties to the malnutrition of those children. If we buy gifts which have been brought into the market by international strife at any stage of its production, exchange or consumption, we share in the responsibility for such conflict and bloodshed.

This is not an exaggeration or an over-emphasising of moral application of our every day acts. Thousands of years ago when King David's forces were in battle array against the hordes of the Philistines near the Cave of

Adullam, over against the well of Bethleham on the other side of the enemy, the King David was moved with the love for his own city Bethleham and exclaimed, "Oh, for a cup of cold water from that well". Three of his valiant soldiers overheard this expression of what they considered a deep longing of their king. During that night these men of valour stole through the enemy lines, reached the well, and returned to the king's camp with a pot of water from the well and triumphantly presented it to their king in the morning. When the king heard what his men had done to fulfil a passing desire of his he was much moved by their loyalty, devotion and their venture and picking up that pot of water of the well of Bethleham he said, "What ! Shall I drink of the contents of this pot ? This is not water ! This pot contains the blood of these, my beloved warriors who had risked their lives to satiate a passing fancy expressed by me. Far be it from me to drink their blood ! I pour it out as a sacrifice to the living Lord of hosts, our God". The spiritual sensitiveness of King David made him tremble at the idea of personally profiting from the sacrifice and risk of his soldiers. Can we do any less after all these centuries ?

What Were These For ?

The present generation has witnessed the blood-bath the world has been through twice. What were these for ? I am confident that there are few among us who are naive enough to believe that all this was in the cause of Democracy

or to end wars as is claimed by the belligerent parties on both sides. We all know that these global upheavals are caused by the underlying greed of certain nations for raw materials and their desire to control their markets. If this be so then those who export such raw materials and deal in such markets are no less parties to these sanguinary wars. If Japan wants to control the Chinese market every Chinese who buys a Japanese article is not only collaborating with the enemy but also effectively contributing towards the waging of the war because he is a willing cause of it. In the same manner when we buy foreign goods, from whatever country it may be, we are direct causes of international strife. International trade there could be, but such should be only in exchange of surpluses and not in raw materials or primary consumer goods.

Neighbourly Love

If we love our neighbours as ourselves our love should express itself in a tangible form in every day life. We ought to patronise the production of our neighbours—buy the goods made by them. If our country is poor today it is because our custom has gone to the foreign producers. Even in food articles we buy Australian grain, American cereals in the form of corn flakes, shreaded wheat, grape nuts, quaker oats etc. All this means taking employment out of the hands of our own people and thus leading them on to starvation. "If you love me feed my lambs". What does this mean? Not mere indiscriminate charity but to

act and live ourselves in such a way as will help others to feed themselves.

Let us, therefore, during this festive period and in the coming year resolve to work towards world peace and towards the abolishing of all political slavery by abstaining from dealing in all foreign goods. Thus shall we wash our hands clean of human blood and work for the attainment of freedom for all, every one in his own little corner and to the full measure of his capacity. Every little will count and the world will have peace and goodwill as a result.

A Christmas Message

II

WHAT IS PEACE

Everybody asks for "Peace". What is it that is wanted ? 'One of the most much misused word is "Peace". A clear understanding of what we mean by "Peace" is, therefore, essential, Ordinarily an absence of any outside interference or disturbance may be "Peace" but with the growth of international dealings this word assumes several political connotations.

Grave-Yard Peace

When one nation is suppressed by another so completely that it has no personaltity left to express itself in anyway and the oppressor nation holds the subject nation down with its military occupation forces we may compare the down trodden country to a grave-yard. There can be no disturbance of any kind but it is the peace that hovers over the grave. The Japanese "enjoyed" this kind of "Peace" under American occupation with McArthur as the "Peace Maker". Here the subjection is hardly felt as the subject people get reconciled to their fate.

Volcano Peace

We may put the lid on a boiling kettle. It may stay there as long as the internal pressure is lower than between the brim and the lid. With the boiling the pressure of

steam will constantly rise and when it gets high enough the lid will be blown off. This type of peace was imposed on Germany by the allies. There was sullen submission. Germans were smouldering under the indignity of this method of suppressing their independence. They built up their armed strength and exploded, we know only too well, with what disastrous results. This again is no real solution to conflicts.

The Hypnotic Type

We, in India, are familiar with this method of satisfying the ambitions of a few and keeping the masses quiet and "satisfied". The possible troublesome elements were bribed by high offices or honours by the Britishers for a long time. A strongly organised propaganda convinced the top rankers that what is being done by the foreigners was for the good of the people who were being safeguarded from outside marauders. This way many of us were fooled into thinking that the railways, roads, harbours and the educational system based on English were all for our spacial benefit and we began to cooperate in this scheme, regarding the British as our "Ma Bap" or "Trustees". Even now this attitude has not completely died out. Having hypnotised us to this extent the alien rulers carried on their exploitation of our country with the help of our own nationals and we gladly and willingly let them do it. People cannot be fooled all the time. Some day a Mahatma may arise to put us wise. This again is no Peace.

The Strategic Peace

By grouping interested parties in a balanced way war can be postponed. The British Statesmen have long practised this method of "Balance of Power" to put off the evil day in Europe until the interests of the concerned "powers" over-balanced and upset the equilibrium. Even to this day Europe has not been able to get back to the position it lost in 1914. It never will if the signs of the times are to be read correctly. This is fundamentally an unstable equilibrium and so cannot be relied upon to maintain peace except as an expedient for a short while.

Sugar Coated Peace

Like a salesman's sweet words capitalist countries organise themselves in such a way as to keep underdeveloped countries eternally under their wing by winning over vested interests in the latter. The Metropolitan countries keep to themselves all manufacturing industries but help the colonial countries to produce the raw materials. It is like the capitalist organisations that keep to themselves all instruments of production and pay liberally its labour forces. It is based on an enlightened self-interest. Recently a modified form of this has been tried in Israel and Iran to control Petrol interests and maintain peace for better exploitation. This also is a temporary strategem as long as Democracy is not fully developed. This is second cousin of the "Hypnotic" method.

to real International Peace when we root out the causes of greed, hatred and suspicion This may mean a less elaborate way of life. What shall we have, the complex way of life and war, or the simple and fuller way of life and Peace ? Have we the courage to choose ?

February 53 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

III

SWORDS OR PLOUGHSHARES ?

The subject chosen for today is one of paramount importance. The world is in a turmoil. On all sides we hear of wars and rumours of wars. Nations are rising against nations, and kingdoms against kingdoms. There are famines and pestilences in diverse places. These are symptoms of the economic crisis in the world. What is the place in such a world for Jesus, the embodiment of Love and Truth, and the Prince of Peace ? As possible leaders of the next generation this question challenges your attention and demands your serious and prayerful consideration. Let us, therefore, pause for a moment and analyse the various factors involved in this problem and see if there is any incompatibility between the present methods of production and the principles that Jesus stood for, which will account for all this turbulence.

Since the days when Adam was told "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread", there has been a definite

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(Being the summary of a speech delivered before the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Christian Endeavour Union of India, Burma and Ceylon, held at Indore on 8th October 1938.)

effort to eat bread but to avoid sweating. Work has been looked upon as a curse and in as much as it cannot be avoided as long as bread is needed, all manner of devices have been resorted to pass on the unpleasant part to some one else.

Analysis Of Work

When we analyse work we do not find it a curse in itself. It has two important components (1) the germ of growth, i. e. an element which makes for the development and happiness of the individual, and (2) drudgery. Just as any seed may have the pericarp and the starch, and even as any balanced diet needs both the concentrates and the roughage to make it wholesome, work needs both its component parts to enable one to benefit by it. As the saying goes, genius is one per cent inspiration and ninety nine per cent perspiration. Without the perspiration or drudgery the inspiration cannot become effective. One has to have both to benefit by it. The drudgery part of work is essential to enable one to grow through work. A musician has to practise hundreds of hours on his instrument before he can venture to perform on the stage. A scientist has to labour for years in a laboratory and cultivate a sense of smell which will appreciate sulphurated hydrogen; only then will he be able to probe into the secrets of nature. These are inevitable. Therefore, there can be growth only when the pleasurable part of work is combined with the drudgery. One who avoids drudgery will not gain by the

pleasurable part only. Though one may enjoy it for a time, one's talents will begin to deteriorate after a while. In addition to this growth-yielding characteristic, when properly used, work functions as an outlet to the personality of the individual; it gives expression to that which is highest in man while at the same time developing his faculties. Whatever ideals, principles, or religion a man may adhere to are reflected in his every day work. Thus there is action and reaction between the individual and his work. The reaction on the individual is perhaps much more important than the work done, because it goes to develop human personality and thereby it contributes to human progress.

Naturally, the drudgery part of work being unpleasant, human nature being what it is, there is always an attempt to avoid it or shift it to someone else. The first temptation before even Jesus was to command stones to be made into bread without sweating for it. But as no one is willing to take on the drudgery part of work for what it is, it becomes necessary for those who want only the pleasurable part to use coercion, to shift the drudgery on to others. If we set out merely to enjoy life we shall have to force someone else to take up the drudgery part of work at the threat of the taskmaster's whip. Western nations have made no attempt to overcome this divorce of the pleasurable germ from the drudgery part of work. On the other hand, they have definitely set out to glorify the pleasures of life, which in itself meant enslavement of others. It was on such a

philosophy of work that the ancient empires of Greece and Rome worked, shifting the unpleasant part of activity, by which pleasures can be had, on to captives made into slaves. Similarly during the Feudal days the lórds got drunk and the serfs laboured. It was a sign of distinction to enjoy without working. Again under the financial regime the capitalist and the executives enjoyed at the cost of the factory drudge. When we come to the political age we see empires enjoying at the cost of their colonies and subject countries. The whole of this system is based on violence. Without violence no nation can shift its drudgery to other nations and convert them into "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Even Jesus was tempted to obtain the glories of the world, by what seemed a simple formula, but quickly turned away from the idea. Thus violence is the centre of the present organization or the foundation stone of the economic structure today.

But it does not stop there. The ones who enjoy the pleasure through such dissection of work are not the masses. These common people will not take to violence naturally unless their understanding is warped and their sensitiveness blunted by deliberate false propaganda. To achieve this it becomes necessary to glorify violence. This is done by giving a social status to those who are employed in applying violence on a "scientific" and mass scale, and giving such violence religious recognition. A general, an admiral or any officer in the forces is given a social standing to obtain the

respect of the common people. Memorials to such men when dead are placed in places of worship to associate them with the saints and they are made national heroes by the erecting of public statues and tombs.

Violence Glorified

To such an enthronement of violence what will be the reaction of Jesus who taught us that anger was equivalent to murder and to say "Thou fool" was to come in danger of hell fire ? He would regard army men as scientific murderers and generals and admirals as arch-murderers. If He went into St. Pauls Cathedral or Westminister Abbey, and saw the monuments there to these arch-murderers, He would overturn them like He did the money changers' table in the Temple, saying "Ye have made the house of prayer into a den of arch-murderers ". And when we see the tattered banners of many a battle decorating those sacred walls, do we not hear the reverberations of the echo of the two thousand year old cry, "Away with this man, release unto us Barabbas". Now Barabbas was a murderer and a robber. A social structure which sanctifies violence has crucified Jesus already. It is such "cultures" we find in Europe, in battle array, growling at each other at the present moment. *What does this appeal to might mean ? Is this to* make the world safe for democracy ? Or is it a war to end war? We cannot cast out devils through the Prince of devils. All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. What is all this degradation of the soul of man for ?

In Practice

All this is to shift the drudgery and unpleasant part of work to some one else. To do so we have to produce goods under controlled conditions on a large scale. Though the Lancashire mill is located in England, its ramifications extend the world over. To work it, therefore, we need world-wide control of the cotton growing soils, farmers, research institutes, railway rates, ports, steamships, ocean routes and bases like Singapore, Aden and Gibralter. Markets too have to be controlled. Without such world-wide domination the Lancashire mill cannot be worked for one day. Such complete and wide-spread political control necessitates the Army, Navy and the Air force. Hence it is that without violence England cannot maintain itself on the present level any more than a tiger can feed itself without its claws or fangs. This is the position with all countries based on centralized methods of production. They have to deprive other people of freedom so that the latter may be converted into slaves to produce the raw materials they need and consume the goods they manufacture. Thus it is that we find the nations of Europe and Japan parting the garments and casting lots on India, China, Abysinnia and Czechoslovakia today. This economic condition is the cause of the violence with which the atmosphere is now surcharged and has been for over a generation. Science has been harnessed to the forces of destruction and "except these days be shortened there should no flesh be saved." The philo-

sophy behind our present economic structure is "what matters if the soul is lost as long as the whole is gained." The vested interests of today care more for their swine than for the life of the man out of whom the devils were cast out. They beseech Jesus to depart from their coasts. As long as Jesus is out of the equation there can be nothing but conflict. There has never been peace in Europe. It is always a case of dynamic war or static war as there is no basis for peace in suspicion and hatred. Peace can only come from love and goodwill.

The Alternative

While the centralized method of production needs violence as an essential factor, production by decentralized units can be carried on without resorting to violence. Of course by this method we cannot produce highly standardized goods; hence the quantity produced will be less than what can be obtained under centralized units, but at the same time the quality and the individuality or variety can be much greater under the cottage unit. This latter method also makes it possible for the two elements of work viz. development and drudgery, to be functioning in a normal way thus making for human progress. Because of the capacity of the present method to produce standardized goods in large quantities the producers have been carrying on a propaganda to increase their sales by making people buy their goods. To do this a tradition has been introduced making the multiplicity of wants a sign of civilization and culture. Is

possession of great wealth the equivalent of happiness and welfare either in this world or in the world to come? Do not the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke that which is noblest in us? What then is the remedy?

The remedy lies in our getting away from the idea that a man's life consisteth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth and being ready if our right hand offends us to cut it off and cast it from us May we have the courage to face this situation and not turn away sorrowful because of our great possessions Is not life more than meat? Is there not a human value which is higher than any material standards? If we decide to follow this higher value we shall have to take up the cross of many material inconveniences and follow Jesus in His path of truth, love and peace If we follow Jesus' ideals we shall neither hunger nor thirst after material possessions

True Values

Jesus evaluated things according to the use they were to individual human beings. To him the widow's two mites were more than all the rest, for, she or her penury had cast in all the living that she had If we love our neighbours as ourselves we shall be able to realize and appreciate the true value of all that we possess If we long for articles that are made by depriving nations of their freedom, by resorting to violence, by devouring widows' houses, by taking the taxes from the poor to serve the needs

of the rich, we shall be ignoring Jesus' standards, and gaining materially at the cost of the suffering of others. As Solomon says:

> "*Better is little with the fear of the Lord*
> than great treasure and trouble therewith",
> "Better is little with righteousness
> than great revenues without right."

Shall we save our life or lose it? If we are convinced that the present atmosphere of war is caused by the desire to control raw materials and markets, we shall be parties to violence and bloodshed if we subscribe to it by buying or selling goods made under such methods. So if we wish to usher in peace and goodwill among nations we shall have to remember that the Master we profess to follow had not where to lay his head. The servant cannot be greater than the master. What shall be our choice? The broad path or the narrow way? Hitler or Gandhiji? Barabbas or Jesus? The sword or the ploughshare?

IV
THE PEACE MOVEMENT

I have been receiving numerous letters asking for the object of the Peace Movement, and what is the need for trying to popularise it even when there is no war in India. At first glance it looks as though it is a vain cry in the wilderness. We have to understand the basis of the present economic structure which urgently calls for this movement.

In the days past wars were caused by conflict of interests of kings, or other leaders, and they fought against each other with their mercenary troops. The causes were mostly self-aggrandisement, acquisition of territory, loot or revenge. And these wars were limited to the interested persons and their hirelings. There was no occasion to rouse the people into a frenzy on either side.

With the growth of centralised industries there has been considerable need for violence created by capitalist interests to control raw materials, labour and markets. For this purpose millions of people had to be held either in political or financial slavery.

In the first World War, the cause was largely for the markets of the world. Great-Britain, Germany and Japan were the vested interests. In the second World War the need to control petrol resources of the world was the main

cause. Now in the Korean War the presence of Tungsten—ore in North Korea attracts the Manganese-steel makers.

Under these circumstances any war cannot be limited to the belligerents only. Here, apart from the warring elements, the people are also involved. Up to now, as the main parties were fighting each other they destroyed their own men and their properties; but as the common people got involved in these wider conflicts it became necessary to rouse their interests in the conflagrations brought about by the conflicting interests. It was not enough merely to state the case, as the causes were largely ones that would not enthuse common people. If Great-Britain wanted India as a market and German merchants also coveted the same market, people in Great-Britain and Germany were not going to shed their blood for the sake of the vested interests; hence they had to whip up the spirit of hatred and suspicion amongst the common people in Germany and Great-Britain, and foster a patriotic slogan of "King and Country" while it is in reality "Raw materials and business." Similarly, race hatred and suspicion had to be aroused wherever possible between ethnical groups. Thus the modern wars are fed on bitterness amongst the masses of the people who have in reality no cause for engendering such evil intentions. The common people on the whole desire peace because whatever may happen to big business they want to spend their little span of three score years and ten in quietness and comfort. Hence, if a war is to be

effective, the belligerent element in the common man has to be aroused, and therefore a whirlwind campaign generally figures almost as important a factor in war as the actual fighting forces. This campaign is an anti-social campaign. It is violent in conception, violent in execution and violent in the result. All too innocently the Germans are taught to sing songs of hatred and hypnotise themselves into a state in which they feel it is a righteous act to kill every Briton they come across. This kind of a general campaign of hatred is conducive to recruitment for the army, gives it a morale for fighting and purposefulness for their murderous campaign. Therefore, if left to themselves, the capitalist interests, combined with imperial needs, ultimately bring about an atmosphere amongst the common people to wage war.

Therefore it becomes necessary to counter this artificially created hatred amongst common people by enlightening them as to the real interests that concern them. For instance, if tobacco is to be grown in India for the London market, as India is already an over exploited land, the needed area can only be obtained by displacing the common man's food acreage. The interests in London, which carry on business in tobacco, are not concerned with the vital needs of our common people in the tobacco growing areas. The result being the people in such areas suffer from shortage of food and perhaps die of starvation, and yet the common man in London who smokes, hardly realizes his moral responsibility in this case. To be able to control such raw

materials it may become necessary to get political control over other countries. Therefore the present Peace Movement, which wants to restore peace amongst common men, has to develop a counter campaign among the common people against the campaign of hatred let loose by the capitalists and imperialists. Hence it becomes necessary for those interested in the peace of the world, to disseminate correct information and knowledge in regard to economic conditions behind the international conflicts.

Apart from this, it is also necessary for us to remove causes of conflict amongst the people themselves, for instance as the relationship between the landlord and the tenant, *Zamindar and the landless labour.* Such differences in society should not be allowed to develop into acute forms where they may generate hatred and lead to destruction.

These are the causes that ultimately lead to global wars. Therefore they require to be nipped in the bud, if we need to have a rational relationship between man and man.

In the past, as we have pointed out, wars were limited to warring interests only, but now the people have come in as the third party, and hence at the present time the instruments of destruction not only concern the soldiers on the field but also the people in their homes. The atom bomb, napalm bomb and bacterial warfare have brought death and destruction to every hearth and home. This is because the common man has also been roped in as the

third party The terrible aspect of these global wars is the letting loose of the spirit of hatred amongst the nations. If these are to be damned and controlled, it will be necessary for us to educate the general public even during peace time and let them know that war is not a part of life but a villainous distortion of human relationship. Peace Movement, properly conceived, should not be limited to extinguishing the raging flames of war but should concern itself with constructive remoulding of society for our peaceful existence Hatred is not healthy to human society A spirit of understanding and goodwill should prevail if humanity is to progress

Our considerations show that to develop the spirit of peace it would be necessary for a movement of this kind to take up the various conflicting questions and problems that face each nation and try to solve them betimes People who wish to join the Peace Movement have, therefore, an onerous responsibility in front of them and have to grapple with the root causes of war If, as we have already pointed out, foreign trade in basic materials and finished products leads to war, it follows that as far as practicable such trade should be curtailed and each nation should become more or less self sufficient in their daily needs Otherwise the lesson taught by Gandhiji to attain non violence and Truth and to propagate a social order based on such principles will be in vain

It also means that the Peace Movement should foster the growth of industries of the people as against industries

by machinery to avoid these wide-flung interests which require to control the lives of thousands of people. Hence those interested in the Peace Movement should undertake the curtailing of foreign trade at both ends. We should organize for utilizing our basic materials and convert them into articles that we require by supporting cottage industries and village industries and also create market for these goods by restricting our repuirements to such products. This may entail banning foreign products and restricting our consumption. This mnst be undertaken as a part of the noble cause leading humanity further along. Hence the future of the world and the peaceful conditions of the people will largely depend on the amount of zeal with which people take up to non-violence and Truth. The Peace Movement is part of such effort to bring about a society where every man will not be at the other man's throat and where all will live together in peace and make for prosperity.

May 1953 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

V

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH*

As we are meeting here to explore all ways and means of attaining world peace, I wish to place before you for your consideration the methods worked out in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his analysis of the reasons for friction among nations and the way to smoothen international relations.

The philosophy of non-violence and truth of Gandhiji has its deep roots in the way of life developed over thousands of years by the Hindus to lead us to peace. Hence to understand the Gandhian way to peace it is necessary to remind ourselves of this ancient background.

They held Truth is God and "Dharma" is the purpose of existence of man. Nay, each creature—sentient and insentient—has its own Dharma. The Dharma of man is to express himself in peace. "Dharma" is neither Religion nor Duty as is often indifferently translated. These latter are but expressions of Dharma but not all of it. Just as to produce flowers is the nature of the rose plant and to exude fragrance is of the very nature of the rose, so should the

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*Summary of speech delivered before the World Congress for Peace at Vienna on 13 December, 1952.

production of peace be the very existence of man. We may say flowering is the "Dharma" of the rose and peace is the "Dharma" of man. Anything that produces conflict is "Adharma".

Modern philosophy of life has turned man into an economic animal. It has made production of goods the "Dharma" of man. This is a degradation of the mission in life of man. We may say, if we choose, that the "Dharma" of the machine is to produce goods. But man is something nobler. Life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess. Man does not live by bread alone and much less by unwanted things made into necessities by artificial pressure of salesmanship and advertising. Thus has man fallen from his Dharma and has brought conflict into the world of humanity by introducing false values and priorities. If we wish to restore peace we have to reorientate our own lives. This may involve foregoing many material things which we have come to regard as essentials. In the restoration of Dharma lies the hope of World Peace.

The Dharma of the strong is the protection of the weak. The all powerful America, fighting small nations like Korea, is Adharma. It belongs to the animal kingdom. The Dharma of the tiger may be to kill but not that of man. We have to diagnose this virus of poison that has entered human life and has produced this phenomenon of nation warring against nation and man's personality being buried under a mountain of consumer goods. This finally leads

man to seek a way out by blowing up this mountain by a ceaseless activity of producing instruments of destruction. To a cool thinker production of the atom bomb would seem the height of midsummer madness and what shall we say of hydrogen bombs and germ warfare! Man has thus fallen from his Dharma and wandered into the jungle of violence. Hence it is necessary to restore the values that make for human development and fuller expression of personality. To do this was Gandhi's search for Truth and the non-violent way of life.

The malady the world is suffering from today is mainly due to economic factors. We have forgotten the end of man in life and are running after things that do not matter. In the few minutes at our disposal I shall attempt an analysis of the situation from a practical point of view and see how we can remedy it and implement the suggestions.

If the way of Dharma leads to peace then any act that is Adharma will lead to violence. These global conflicts are not isolated incidents. They are the culminations of innumerable small acts performed daily by simple people innocently. Though the responsibility for wars may immediately be placed on some leaders, yet the real causes can be traced to our daily acts. For instance, city people buy milk without asking whether the calf has been fed or the children of the milkman had their quota. When the milk we buy is not a surplus but has been squeezed out of the mouths of calves and children with prior claims, our acts are

Adharmic and we create violence, which, when accumulated, breaks out into world catastrophes. Hence we see the real remedy lies in the consumer being closely associated with the producer and the distributor. This means decentralization of production and a move towards self-sufficiency. This has been Gandhiji's suggestion for banishing the causes of wars.

On the production side today, the goods are turned out on a mass scale with standardised methods, from raw materials secured from the ends of the earth from under-developed people. All this is Adharmic.

Similarly, distribution has no natural urge but is stimulated by all manner of salesmanship leading to the creation of artificial multiplicity of wants. This again is adharmic and leads to violence.

The pattern of consumption has no relation to real needs of the consumer, nor is it related one to another nor based on any priorities. The consumer pattern is calculated to subserve the needs of the large scale producer and distributor. Hence periodic explosions are called for to set the system on proper lines. These again lead to wars.

As long as the capitalistic and imperialistic interests persist and production follows centralized and standardised methods, wars will form an integral part of human life and no amount of petitions and protests will bring about lasting peace.

Because of these underlying causes the atmosphere is surcharged with a fear of acquisitive interests being upset

by a spreading sense of social justice. The American block represents private property and individual profits, while Russia, China and associated countries stand for social justice. The handful of American vested interests desire to stop the evergrowing consciousness of the masses for a square deal. Here is the world situation in a nutshell. America attempts to cordon off the awakening of the masses along the political line starting from Korea, China, Burma, India, Iraq, Jordinia etc. going on to West Germany. To this end the U. S. A. is moving heaven and earth to get a foothold in all these countries by fair means or foul, by wars, by finance, by pretended social service and goodwill etc. Let us be awake to the dangers around us and be forewarned.

What then is the remedy? The causes themselves suggest the way out. We have already seen that Gandhiji had suggested self-sufficiency and decentralization of production.

Russia is working out the first by the Government taking over their foreign trade and by producing most of her needs within their borders. This is a healthy move. But they are still adhering to centralized methods of production which is also basically a cause of conflict as we diagnose the situation.

The American way is heading directly towards international conflicts all along the line and their ultimate interest is financial. If we aim at permanence, we should call a hault and resort to methods which are also Dharmic. Here also

Gandhiji had indicated the way of non-violent non-cooperation with the offender which may finally result in the launching of a Satyagraha Movement.

In the economic field this will result in a boycott of all trade transactions with the offender and thus isolating him from the rest of human society. If we apply this sanction all nations should stop dealing in American goods. For instance, India is flooded with American goods of all kinds-automobiles, petrol, electrical goods, fountain pens, drugs and cosmetics and all kinds of consumer goods. Therefore, if an embargo is placed on these it will bring the Government of the U. S. A. to its sense quickly.

In this Congress over 70 nations are represented. If all these countries decide on one common course of action it cannot be long before the U. S. A. authorities can be called to order. On the other hand a mere threat of armed might will only challenge them to a greater and more rapid production of armaments. This may even be an attraction to the manufacturers and "merchants of death" as an opportunity for acquiring greater wealth.

This course of action, based on self-sufficiency and Swadeshi, brings promotion of World peace within the reach of every single one of us. We need not feel helpless before the great ones of the earth. Everyone can contribute his mite. This is a great privilege and a responsibility. It calls for self control and sacrifice in the cause of peace. Are we prepared to shoulder our share of work ?

All this is based on the assumption that we shall have enough basic character to organize each nation into behaving in cooperation with the rest of the world on a high level of moral and spiritual standards. The education of the children must be recast to enable us to raise a nation of stalwarts, who will depend on character rather than armaments to maintain peace. Only such peaceful relations, founded on cooperation, understanding and goodwill will lead us to lasting peace.

In such a world there can be no exploitation of the weak by the strong, oppression of the under-developed by the highly organized, or overpowering of the samll by the mighty. Such human relation alone can lead to peace on earth and good-will towards man.

January, 1953 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

VI

A NON-VIOLENT WAY OF LIFE

It is a responsibility to come before a meeting of this type and to speak to you on the work that has been going on in India during Gandhiji's regime. Gandhiji himself was only a part of the Indian culture. Therefore when I am talking to you, you will remember that these thoughts have not been recent thoughts on war resisting. No doubt it is a new thing to Europe : two global wars have brought war resisting to the forefront, but in India, perhaps for the last 2,000 years, society has been moulded on non-violence. I am here to interpret that to you and to show how Gandhiji has tied up together the various loose strands in Indian culture to suit modern requirements.

I shall divide my talk into three parts : the first part will concern itself with a philosophical approach, or if you like an academic approach, in the second part I shall deal with the practical turn which we in India are trying to give it, and in the third part, I will humbly place before you certain suggestions for not only India but for the whole world.

This is a summary of a speech delivered at a Conference of the 'War Resisters International' on the 8th August, 1948, at Albrighton Hall, Shrewsbury, England. At this conference 35 countries were represented by 135 delegates

Now I want first of all to give you our approach to the human factor Non violence really is a thing we have got to look upon, not as a negative force, but as a very active element in Indian culture that has functioned since the days of Buddha What we want to do is to introduce into society such non-violent factor to combat war How is it to be done ? Even Buddha was only representing the philosophy that was current for thousands of years before him It is nothing new except to those of us who are new to it We cannot banish war while we are perpetuating war within ourselves. Wars are not organized by any external factors Wars come from the violence that is within us The tremendous amount of hatred and injustice within us accumulated in a national form leads to war Therefore banishing war cannot really be brought into real effect without the self control of each individual It has to start with you and me Hence, if we want to stop wars we must stop them within ourselves in our everyday life, and that is the starting point

People say that self sufficiency would mean a lower standard of life The Americans might well say that by exporting articles to suffering people in Europe there will be less to share at home and so their standard of living will be lowered. Naturally, if you must share your fellowmen's suffering, you must be prepared to part with things It may be lowering your material standard of life but it is increasing your spiritual standard by serving your fellowman and

sublimating your personality.

The present Western system of organization has emphasised the products of work. By work also, we hold man develops, the material manifestation of work being but a bye-product. Man works on a material thing which grows into a finished product and at the same time, in the process of making the finished product, man grows spiritually. Therefore work is a medium of personal development. The Wardha Basic System of Education is based on this philosophy. The product of work is useless when compared to the re-action of work on man. Work is not merely for producing things, it is the means of educating man. It means developing self-discipline and self-control. When the material manifestation is *over-emphasised*, work is *missing the function of culture-creation altogether. The West has been doing this forgetting the man behind the articles. The result* has been that man is not considered an entity by himself. He is not a person but an animal, or worse still a cog in the machine of production.

Animals live and die on the earth. They are of the earth earthy. Man rises higher than this only when he begins to see that he is a social animal. Even the bee works for the whole colony. At this stage there should be a spiritual sublimation of our individual instincts-the sublimation of fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood. To feel that our standard of living will come down when we relieve the sufferings of others, is to bring ourselves down to the animal level.

In his death Gandhiji was numbered amongst the greatest of Princes His body was burnt with sandalwood. Not even the greatest of the Moguls were treated like that. When he was living he was not clothed in beautiful silks. Why not? He sublimated his personality into those of the poor people To do this we have to control the animal within us

Even the animal is capable of being classified into various groups according to the purpose of its work Taking us at the animal level we work to satisfy our hunger. Animal go about to satisfy their main primary need by, say, five different approaches The first one is the simplest. The tiger goes and takes other creatures that live in the jungle This is the parasitic state. Then there comes the predatory stage—the monkey takes the apple from the tree. It does not consider if it has done any work for it Here, the violence of the tiger is lessened But in both there is consumption without contribution Thirdly, the bird that builds a nest, in economic terms, is both a producer and a consumer, and here is a further decrease of violence This might be called the "enterprising stage". The fourth stage is noticed in the life of the honey—bees They don't produce for their own benefit, they produce for the benefit of the whole group. Then we come to the final stage, the service stage, as when the mother bird picks up food and takes it to the baby birds in the nest and gives without expecting any return.

We all function in these five stages at different times. The moment we begin to develop the people towards the service stage, we are reducing the need for and chances of war. The nearer we get to the service stage the less and less violence we shall find in society.

These five stages can be seen in the caste system of India. As you begin to balance rights and duties civilization comes in. With the tiger and the monkey there are only rights and no duties, but as man grows higher and higher duty begins to enlarge. Unfortunately labour unions, etc are all right centred and therefore their efforts lead to general conflict We have got to come to the duty centred economy.

Our ideal must be to reach that stage where there would be no wars at all. To this end we must educate the people into the service stage.

War has to be abolished by taking away the motives for war. So long as there are tigers in society there will be wars. We may be intensifying wars if we don't approach them from the right end, and the right end is your life and mine. It is in our everyday life, in our private life, that our mission has to begin.

People in the city who buy milk are stealing it out of the mouths of the children if the milk is not out of a surplus. When you get raw material from other countries, how many of you know that they are not being stolen from hungry mouths? When you get food from other countries, how

do you know that there are not dead bodies behind it? Unless there is a surplus one has no right to buy from others. Every country has to be self-sufficient in food, clothing and other primary needs. Unless you are self-sufficient you cannot maintain your independence. I am not against international trade, but the natural foods and things of that kind which you need must be grown or produced in our home-land, otherwise it is not possible to remain non-violent.

When a new mill is brought into existence the raw materials for it are got from the land which is growing food today. This is a further pressure on the food-growing land. Tobacco is being grown in millet lands. The Government had opened a seed depot for the Imperial Tobacco Co. of London. Under such conditions when Indian trade has to import food we are coming down to the tiger stage and this will lead to violence. When India gets her claws and fangs you will all have to sit up and take notice. It will be a menace to world peace. There are four hundred millions to make gun fodder!

At a certain village an old woman told me, "When I was a little girl all this land was for rice growing. But we were given good prices for the land so we sold it. Now this land grows coconut trees and we are too poor to buy the coconuts." All these lands had belonged to the villagers who sold them for good prices and now coconut trees were grown. Now they had neither rice nor coconuts. The

coconuts go to the mills where they are converted into coconut oil which is used in the manufacture of soap and similar articles. The land has been converted into a soap-makers land and the people's food comes from Brazil! To make certain that they get it they will need atom bombs. We cannot have foreign food and at the same time avoid wars. *Every country must produce its own food or* ultimately you must hold in bondage those who produce it for you to see that they do send it to you. International trade can be there, but not on the food line or the clothing line or prime necessities line, but only in surpluses and luxuries.

There is a definite difference between the wars of the ancient time and the wars of the present day. In fact they are two different things and it is wrong to call them both "wars". We must differentiate them by some other term.

In olden times wars arose out of animal instinct for greed In the 20 th century war is a very different thing, it is not just brigandage. Churchill or Roosevelt or Hitler were not brigands. They were the victims of what is called *democracy*. *The violence that is within the people* expressed itself through them. By an educational process people are brought to sing in unison hymns of hatred, hymns of denunciation against other nations. War propaganda is a poisonous injection into the body politic. The warring of nation against nation is altogether a new

thing. By a process of education we can bring the nations together. We should take up that constructive part of the work of educating the public and of bringing them to a service economy. We have got to isolate the cause and deal with it. You cannot have peace without attacking the cause of wars.

We have seen that the cause of wars is greed of man for material things irrespective of consequences. That is why centralized methods of production have been introduced, which ultimately lead to the control of other peoples lives. Modern industrial magnates control the lives of so many thousands of people and then we call ourselves democracies! If you are working up to a democracy in politics you must have a democracy in economics. There is no meaning at all in the terms Communist, Fascists, etc. The distinction should be between centralization and decentralization. The test of a country being democratic or not is when it is in trouble. In the times of stress and strain, what were the nations of Europe? Dictatorships. You must ultimately decentralize control if you are to abolish war. Then a man's conscience will be the sole dictator as to whether a thing is right or wrong. Ideally this is something we may never attain, but we must move towards the ideal. We must have certain centralized productions–communications and the like–but these key industries must be sterilised of the profit motive, they should be like public utilities owned or controlled by the State.

In a village in South India I found the owner of six looms worked by power twiddling his thumbs. I asked him why the mill was not working. He could not get enough raw material. He was also selling cloth 400 miles away and there was a bottleneck in the transport. He wanted to know how to ensure his supply of raw material and his market. I advised him to go to Madras where he would find a whole lot of brigands. He should get 200 of these men and let each be armed with a dagger and take them to the yarn mills. The moment the people at the mills saw the daggers they would run away leaving all the yarn he wanted. Then he could go to Delhi and those who deal with transport also would not like the look of a rifle or a dagger. They would give him anything he wanted. Such is the basis of all Imperialism. When you need to control your raw materials and control your markets, you cannot do that without bombs. It is no good denouncing the bombs. You cannot have your cake and eat it too. We must begin with ourselves. Indeed Gandhiji gave us a programme of all kinds of cottage industries starting from this end as he realised the need for decentralization in the production of consumption goods. This leads us to regional self-sufficiency ultimately.

Gandhiji was not interested in the economic side of things for its own sake. He was interested in only one *thing, that is truth; and all things that lead to untruth, all* things that lead to violence he wanted to remove from

society Hence this programme of work

We must not meet once in a year, or once in so many convenient years and disperse after receiving reports, but we must get together and organise and get a definite move on what we are going to do Even Gandhiji's last message was that we should harness our energies to do something. We must attack the tremendous enemy in our own land of poverty and starvation There are a number of institutions that Gandhiji had formed together with an educational programme.

In a non-violent State we cannot have His Majesty's opposition. Yet the function of the opposition must be performed no Government can work without it The real function of the opposition is to direct the Government into certain channels You require critics but they should be taken out of the field of violence The opposition in England is a violent type of political order I suggest that it should be like rock banks to a river The banks of the river, so long as they are solid rock, direct the flow to the bed of the river, but the rock being rock does not come and sit in the bed of the river and silt it up In England it is so today The opposition is always influenced by the thought that it may come into power one day

So far we have dealt with the qualities in man and the qualities in human relationships We should now consider nature

We have got to go to nature to obtain raw materials for all of our economic needs. There are two kinds of

sources. One is a reservoir, such as minerals, iron, copper and all sorts of such things which in nature are in a reservoir form to some extent. Things like cotton, wool, wood, exist not in reservoir form, but as a current, like a river running all the time. These latter do not get exhausted as we go on using them, as they are in current form. Current economy is non-violent, the reservoir form is violent as it gets exhausted.

For instance a person dies and leaves to two sons Rs. 10,000 each. One goes to Bombay and spends his capital in luxurious living. The other sets up a little grocery shop, say in a village and gets from it two or three hundred rupees income a year and lives on that income. One is living on his capital, the other on his income. What is the psychological effect of these two methods of living? The village man *develops into a man who is provident; while the man* who spends his capital, after it has gone, looks round to see who else has money from whom it can be obtained easily by gambling, forgery etc. or becomes a brigand to get money quickly. When you live on capital or live on a reservoir economy you develop different mentalities from the one that current economy develops. Imperialism has arisen out of our getting away from current economy into the reservoir economy.

One hund'ed years ago there were no global wars. Why? Then England was on a horse economy. The horse was the motive force. The horse belongs to a current

economy. In India the cow is the motive force-the sacred animal of the country. What is called the industrial revolution in England was the ultimate result of the discovery of steam power. The horse economy gave way to the coal economy, a reservoir economy, which develops violence, and then came along another reservoir motive force, namely petrol. Petrol has got into short supply, so that the Middle West is being looked upon with covetous eyes. Therefore there are these global wars, which really began with the industrial revolution. America, with her tremendous supply of petrol which is now going down, is beginning to turn towards the East. Violence is increasing as you go on shifting your methods of production from nature in the current form to nature in the reservoir form. Thus houses that are built of bricks and wood, can largely be said to belong to current economy, but when you come to concrete and steel, you

home-spun yarn. That is what Gandhiji wants us to do. Abolishing war has to begin at our breakfast table. Let us begin with ourselves and start with our daily lives and the accumulated violence that comes out in the form of war will take care of itself.

There is something more fundamental than taking away the pistol or disarming nations. Nations will disarm of their own accord provided they can be moved up into the mother-service economy. The national governments will then take their rightful places. They need not formulate Leagues of Nations or UNOS. The real thing is to isolate the factor that produces violence, which is our method of *living today and our present type of economic organisation.* We shall have to shift from a right-centred economy to a duty-motivated economy, from self-centredness to love for our fellowmen. We must bring about self-conquest and banish untruth and violence from society. Until we do that there will be no peace in the world. We must attack this problem at the source. It is only by remoulding our daily lives that we can bring peace and plenty to this war distraught world and banish violence from our midst. Gandhiji's last suggestion was of converting the Congress from a political to a constructive body—the Lok Sevak Sangh-was a step directed towards that end. Have we the will and courage to follow his lead?

VII

PACIFISM AND BELLICOSITY

"War is an unmitigated evil to be shunned" will express the sentiment of the common man, woman and child in any nation. Yet periodical wars of global magnitude have become the order of the day. If the love of peace is so deeply ingrained, and widely spread in the common man why have we these holocausts? How can we prevent them? Had not the generations that have gone before us tried to solve these fundamental problems of human existence? If so, can we learn anything from them? Can we contribute anything further?

The Seed of War

War is the collective manifestation of friction between single individuals. Amongst individuals an eruption takes place when one person seeks to enforce his will on another. We desire a certain thing and seek to materialise that desire by an action directed by our will power. If our desire goes contrary to the interest of another, friction ensues, this, in the aggregate, leads to group conflicts, or wars. Hence, if we would eradicate this weed from society it would call for the training of our wills in complete alignment with the needs of society. In other words the solution lies in developing self-control and self-discipline to

make us worthy members of society. This was the basis of the Hindu approach to the problem.

If we fail to keep in mind the individual and his conduct but proceed to attack the projection of this *malformation into society, we shall be guilty of treating the* symptom instead of the disease. At every turn the act of the individual affects society. Even these global wars have their roots in the isolated acts of individuals. Therefore, the individual and the life he leads demand our scrutiny.

In Ancient Times

There is a fundamental difference in the social manifestation of wars of the past and those of the twentieth century. Formerly wars were waged by individuals for revenge, for loot, for acquisition of territory or for self-aggrandizement. They were fought by mercenaries or by persons closely allied to the belligerent parties. The general mass of people kept out of these conflicts. Under such circumstances the evils of war, bad as they always are, were limited.

The Remedy

The way to meet the situation was also simple. The Varnashram provided a quarantine for the bellicose. The Kshatriyas were given the monopoly of policing the State internally and to defend the population from external aggression. This was the sociological device.

Culturally, the fighting man was not given the highest status. Anger was considered the base of all crimes.

The standard of values was weighted against all whose actions will lead to conflict. Material wealth was sterilized of its glamour. Those who were assigned the highest place in society were those who followed their path of duty to their fellowmen. One of the fertile grounds for conflict was selfishness and acquisition of property. Renunciation was covered with a mantle of sanctity to counteract man's natural greed.

There was a preconcerted plan to block all the sources of violence. Under this order of things our country remained non-violent for centuries, though she had to suffer violence from invaders from time to time.

Modern Wars

Within living memory wars have ceased to be personal conflicts to satisfy individual desires They have assumed nation wide proportion. It is no longer Alexander marching to conquer the world, but it is the British waging war against the Germans. This change has been brought about primarily by a change in the economic organization of society.

With the "Industrial Revolution" in Europe, centralized methods of production came into vogue. This meant that the plant and machinery were situated in one convenient place while the world was scoured for raw materials which were brought over thousands of miles of ocean routes to the central plant. After manufacture, the finished goods had to be taken to the four corners of the earth for sale. This

method logically led to the situation where the owners of the plant and machinery had, of necessity, to keep close control over the sources of raw materials and to regulate their markets, while policing the ocean-routes to keep them clear and open for the traffic of their merchandise. All this demanded the Army, Navy and the Air Force to control the lives of other peoples and nations and guide them into such channels as would ensure the satisfaction of the needs of the machine owners and their world-wide ramifications.

Moral Degradation

To this end it would not do to impute moral values into the equation. Violence has taken a central place in this economic organization. It has to command votaries from all sections of society. How can that be done if anger were considered a crime ? On the other hand violence has to be glorified or deified. This cannot be achieved by stigmatising all fighters who make a profession of killing as "murderers" and officers as "mass murderers" and Generals as "arch murderers." No; murdering has to be made an honourable profession. Army is made into a noble calling, the Navy into an aristocratic allegiance and the Air Force becomes the acme of educational attainment. With these warped standards of values impregnated into youthful minds, in season and out of season, it has been possible to misguide millions and even women amongst them. Nations have to wage war against nations, hatred and suspicion has to be cultivated to feed the fire of national enmity.

Living

Under this octopus, the life of the individual is also set in lines which will absorb the production of the machines. Social values are affixed to modes of life demanding a large consumption of machine made products. A man is honoured, not for his character, nor for the discharge of his duty to his fellowmen, but for the abundance of things he possesses. This humanly low type of material living has been termed a "High Standard of Living". Renunciation has no place in this order of things, Self-indulgence, rather than self-discipline, is held up as a goal to pursue. The whole scheme of life is weighted in favour of violence.

Pacifism

If our analysis is true then no amount of sentimental objection to war can be of any avail. Conscientious objectors in war time only generate more violence. A desire to banish war coupled with a longing for peace must materialise in a mode of life in which violence has no part. To the cry of superficial sentimentalists the war mongers had offered a sop—the League of Nations. They also promised to limit armaments. Can we accept from a seasoned drunkard as an earnest of his teetotalism a gift of an empty bottle or shall we be satisfied with his promise of drinking in limited quantities in future ? Yet the world sat back contented as though Mars had been banished for ever. Was this willingness to be easily satisfied rooted in the fear of facing a form of life, in which violence being eschewed,

it would be hard to maintain a "Standard of living" without things we have got used to ?

No superficial attempts to create a public opinion by slogans of "Save the World for Democracy" etc. will solve the problem. The innumerable international security conferences have proved to be only endeavours to "keep the other fellow from fighting", neither can we outlaw war by any international legislation.

We have to face facts sternly and remove the needs of war from our midst, cost it what it may. Unless we go about our business with a grim determination, any amount of political reshuffling will not come to our rescue. Those of us, who are prepared to go to the uttermost, should work with might and main during "peace time" or rather during the absence of kinetic war. We ought not to be content with surface alterations. The Political aspect of war is the least important. We have to reach down to the daily routine of life of every citizen and from it weed out all parasitic growth.

Russia

An experiment to ban private foreign trade has been attempted by the Soviets. But this has not reduced violence. Russia clearly indicates that violence has been generated by causes other than international disputes. A searching analysis will reveal beyond doubt that the terrific internal violence, on which Russian life is organized, is the result of regimentation of economic activity called for by the

same system of centralised production. So it is not a mere superficial coincidence that Russia finds herself in the company of Imperialist nations vying with each other for the laurel of being crowned "the most violent nation of this generation." Whether it be Soviet Communism, or Nazi State Socialism or Facism or Political Imperialism of Britain, or the Financial Imperialism of America or the Industrial Imperialism of Japan, they all tend to the same way. Therefore, we should look for a common factor in all these organizations. And that seems to be centralised methods of production with or without private profit, with its accompanying problems of raw materials and markets.

India

If this then is the root of all violence, we have to set about putting every house in the land in order, so that the life in the smallest of social units eschews violence. This brings us to the practical solutions offered by the greatest living pacifist of our times—Mahatma Gandhi. He represents the quintessence of Indian culture and therefore his suggestions may be taken as the efforts put forth by India to meet the situation.

According to our conception of a Pacifist, he must not merely be working against organized warfare but must not contribute by his action or mode of life to conditions that will precipitate war. Westerners often credit Gandhiji for evolving a moral equivalent of war in the method of "Satyagraha". This is the least part of his contribution to

Pacifism. He has gone deeper to the root causes of war contaminating the every day life of the citizen. These have to be purged out by every single person. Each individual is a potential contributory cause of global wars. To the extent it lies in our power we have to modify our methods of living to frustrate war.

Foreigners come into a country to sell their goods and obtain raw materials. If the citizens of a country refuse to have anything to do with this trade—neither buy foreign goods nor sell their raw materials—the basis of foreign violence will be cut. Foreigners carry on most of their work through the cooperation of the citizens—Stooges and Quislings. If by education we can generate sufficient stamina and moral power for the citizen to withhold cooperation with foreigners, no nation can hold another in bondage—violence or no violence. *Hence foreign trade in prime necessaries must be banned.*

How are we going to adjust our daily life so as to banish war? Every individual has to accept responsibility for all acts that precede the economic transaction into which he enters. No one can say that he washes his hands of moral issues to which he is personally not a party. If we buy a stolen article because it is cheap, we have a moral share in the stealing of that article. If we burn kerosene oil knowing that Burmah is held under political bondage for purposes of exploiting its oil resources, we are also parties to the political slavery of Burmah and the consequent violence that has gone before the conquest

and that which is needed to keep up the foreign occupation of that country. If we are true pacifists of the Indian type we cannot use products which have taken part in international trade based on or enforced by violence. Giving up the use of foreign products for this purpose is not a political "boycott" which latter may be born of violence in thought and deed.

This brings academic considerations of international pacifism to earth and pins it to the work-a-day life of a man. Simplifying our lives in this manner and to this end is not a form of asceticism but a resultant of our own limitations. It calls for self-control and self-discipline of a high order. We cannot have self-indulgences and pacifism at the same time. This necessary ground for this programme has already been prepared by the ancients by the standards of values they had set. Based on that culture Gandhiji's pacifism manifests itself in his constructive programme. We have to realign the lay-out of society if we desire to outlaw war, limit our consumption goods to those which have been produced under our ken and for which we shall be prepared to assume moral responsibility. This is the foundation of Gandhiji's self-sufficiency programme. Every nation should produce its own primary needs—food, clothing and shelter. Foreign trade there may be only in luxury goods. Nations do not go to war for this. If England is beleaguered and is in danger of starvation she will stick at nothing to get the food she wants.

The present economic organization rests on violence for its foundation. If we seek peace we have to rebuild our social structure on conditions which will have no need for resorting to violence as a means of maintaining our social order. No tinkering with this problem will answer the purpose. Hard, as it may seem, we have to face realities. So far the pacifists of the west contented themselves by enlisting public opinion against war ignoring the fact that great possessions arising out of centralized methods of production and peace are poles apart. The high standards of the west cannot be maintained without holding in bondage the weaker nations of the East. Are the pacifists prepared to make the necessary fundamental adjustments in their own life, in the first instance, and in the life of their nation eventually? This is the crucial test. No make-shift arrangement or patch-work will bring us lasting peace or goodwill amongst the nations.

We have to awaken the moral consciousness of the youth and call a spade a spade. Let there be no soft peddling on mass murders euphemistically called "wars". Let the youth know when he enlists in the "Forces" that he is joining a gang of international murderers and brigands. We cannot call in the noble patriotism, enthusiasm and energy of youth into action for so vile a purpose. Let us raise the moral consciousness and lower money considerations and material values. If we succeed in doing these then alone shall we be practical pacifists working towards a time

when youth shall learn war no more. Thus shall we usher in an age of peace in this war-torn world and rescue civilization from barbarism.

2 Sept., 1946 *The Aryan Path.*

VIII

THE INDIVIDUAL AND WORLD PEACE

If we carefully analyse the causes of present wars, we shall find that they are largely centred round the acquisition of control over natural resources, for purposes of economic exploitation, or as an end in itself. The former is, more or less, rising out of the methods of centralized production with standardization. Under this system, the manufacturing unit is at one centre, and raw materials and resources of power may have to be obtained from remote parts of the world, while markets for finished goods will have to be maintained at distant places. This economic system, therefore necessitates a common control on production, distribution and consumption. If these three elements of economic life happen to be geographically separated, it would involve bringing them under a common authority so as to ensure singleness of purpose, policy and execution. Naturally, the simplest method that can be thought of to achieve this end will be to bring the parties involved together by the application of violence.

Hence, if we are to eschew the destruction that is brought about by warring nations, we shall have to earnestly tackle this problem on the economic side. Wars are but volcanic eruptions bringing to a head the ill-will caused by

economic avarice, jealousy and the need for control over the various factors. This being so, the wars as we find them, today, have to be dealt with in such a manner as to eradicate the causes which lead to them. This will involve to a certain extent the producers and distributors and to a much greater extent the consumers who form the largest number. At the present time, the former two sections of society have generally got control over the Governments, so as to enable them to create the needed market by resorting to violence. Their own solution will result in a benefit to themselves whether they be producing for peace or for war; and even during peace time, their instruments of production are so tuned up and organized as to be capable of being rapidly switched over to the necessities of war production. This state of affairs cannot be left to be remedied by these parties who are vitally interested in maintaining such a system.

While many are anxious to avoid wars, they do not realize their personal responsibility and the call made on their daily life which an anti-war programme would involve. Our pacifism and war resistance should not be confined to the dealing with isolated belligerent acts, but should be directed towards eliminating causes of violence in our every-day life. We have to put a considerable amount of restraint on our consumption, and limit it to goods which, we are satisfied, will not harm our fellow beings in the process of their production, distribution, and use.

While many people are peace-minded, they do not realize that in their everyday life they are generating a force through circumstances which will ultimately lead to war. War is not a phenomenon that occurs spasmodically. For instance, the lapse of the twenty years' period between the First World War and the Second cannot be called "peace time". It was a period spent for the preparation of the Second World War. Real peace can only be achieved when the cause for war is eliminated in our everyday acts; otherwise what is called peace is only a period during which the possibilities for war are dormant. *Real peace can be got only by destroying the seeds of violence in our every-day transactions.*

In fact, we may say, world wars are caused by the manner in which we conduct our apparently peaceful homes. The more we support the wide spread methods of production by using them in our homes, the more we tend towards world wars. Our breakfast table will often indicate the direction in which we are moving—either towards world peace or towards world war.

This method of approach immediately gives us a programme of action. It shifts the responsibility for world peace from the shoulders of the great politicians of the world *to those of the humble citizen It is only this enlightened* civic action which will prevent the world from plunging into periodical holocausts, which will ultimately bring the whole human family to its end. To launch this programme, we

have to rely largely on the development of self–control and self–discipline in the individual citizen. Our present programme of self–indulgence will have to be abandoned. This is the way which has been indicated by Gandhiji to secure world peace. His programme of action, which has been put together in the form of constructive programme, is directed towards this end. By practising non-violence and truth in his own everyday life, the meanest citizen would be contributing to world peace, which no amount of world security pacts or progressive disarmament plans can bring about.

We trust, therefore, that those who are anxious to promote world peace, will not be deterred by the hardships of the narrow path indicated. We wonder how many of those of us, who constantly express the desire to bring about world peace, would be prepared to follow this programme set before us.

January 1950 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

IX

IS THIS NOT A MOCKERY ?

The Russian novelist M. Ilya Ehrenburg, a top-ranking official propagandist for Soviet Russia, asked at an interview, why India, a country which is definitely a peace-loving country, does not take an important role in International Peace Conferences of Pacifist bodies. I replied to him as follows :—

War And Peace

"Our approach is different in that our philosophy and national culture lead us to the reform of individual life. We diagnose war as a social disease coused by the violence in individuals, which, in the aggregate, leads to global outbursts. Therefore, dealing with wars as such is symptomatic treatment leaving out the real cause. Disarmament and treaties will not solve the problem finally. We feel that wars are an essential concomitant of creating an artificial standard of wants and trying to meet them by centralized production. Such an artificial standard stimulates greed and jealousy and creates hatred between nations which ultimately culminates in war. Therefore, India's approach, especially under Gandhiji's lead, is to work for permanent peace. But it is a long time programme affecting the very basis of economic life." To this he replied,

"When a murderer comes into the house to kill a child, will it not be the Gandhian way to save the child ?" I replied, "I am afraid your analogy is faulty. We must deal with the cause. If the murderer is attracted to do this deed by something on the child—a piece of jewellery—then if we prevent one murderer still others may be attracted. So the problem is not solved that way. Wars are like floods. Floods are the accumulation of little drops of rain water. We may build dams at great cost to control floods. Even then if the dams burst there will be great destruction. The proper way to control floods is at the stage of the rain drops. If we plough the land the rain drops are retained in the soil and fertilize the land. If we plant forests then also the rain water is not allowed to run away, but goes into the soil to be used as spring water later on. The land acts as a reservoir to restrain the water from forming destructive floods. Small erosion bunds also do the same. Such work is not spectacular but it is none-the-less effective for all that. Gandhiji's method is that of conserving the rain drops and utilizing them to good purpose rather than allowing them to accumulate into floods causing widespread distress. The Constructive Programme he has left behind is an enormous force for world peace, far more formidable than any appeals Peace Conferences can make. The only difficulty is we are not willing to pay the price of leading a simple life. We live in such a way as will cause wars and then lift our holy hands in prayer to ask God to save us.

from war and destruction. Is this not a mockery? We may have the short cut too, but it must be backed by the long term plan of changing our lives to promote Peace.

People's China, What I Saw and Learnt there

X

THE C. Os. PACIFISTS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Thinking people the world over are much agitated over the trend of events. They see threatening clouds gathering on the horizon. They are uncertain of the turn world affairs may take and quake before the thought of another world war. These forebodings are indicated by the many conventions and conferences held by these various groups. The Montreux Convention seeks to establish peace by a World Federal Government. The War Resister's International suggests other ways. The Conscientious Objectors would keep out of active participation in the fight, while others pin their faith to disarmament. All are agreed war is barbarous and must be banished from civilized society.

The Conscientious Objectors

The Connscientious Objectors represent the first awakening of the individual to the immorality of war. It is a personal affair. The C. O. sees that soldiering is murderous. Personally he is not willing to take up arms against his fellowman. For this conviction he is willing to suffer punishment society inflicts on such.

The C. O. does not carry his investigations any further. He deals with his immediate problem but does not

follow up to ferret out the cause that leads to this situation. His is a short sighted view. He deals with the symptom and not with the disease. He does not contemplate that perhaps his daily life is causing that situation to arise and that it may be necessary for him to readjust his mode of living. He resembles the individual who preaches prevention of cruelty to animals but insists on having his bacon for his breakfast, not realizing that his eating of bacon will call for the slaughter of the pig. He himself is not willing to do the cruel killing but his course of action brings into existence and sustains that butcher.

This is either due to want of clear thinking or due to being unprepared to face the logical consequences. In the former case it calls for further study and thought. The latter case is unworthy of a social being. If he is a willing member of a society and partakes of the common life that ultimately leads to wars, then his keeping out of participation in war is shirking his duty. If he disapproves of war he must take to a mode of life in which war has no place. If he wants to prevent cruelty to animals he must give up eating bacon.

Pacifism

With the pacifist, the question is not purely a personal affair. To him the problem assumes social or national dimensions. He wants peace among men. He seeks to attain it by controlling immediate contributory causes—by devising means of settling disputes and claims, by disarma-

ment, by a federal world government etc. He rests his faith on curative methods.

He forgets that the parties to the dispute may be greater than the judge who will not be able to enforce his judgement; nay the disputants may constitute themselves as judges of their own cases! These were the drawbacks of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation.

When two persons are intent on fighting, disarmament does not prevent the conflict. You ban the atom bomb, the "Big Berthas" will be there; you remove the "Big Berthas," the rifles will be there. Failing these you have the bow and the arrow, the dagger or the stick. Did disarmament of Germany after World War I prevent World War II?

Neither can we place our faith on man made law. It is as efficacious as its sanctions, which need to be effectively implemented to be of any practical use. World Government will carry us no further.

The fever may be abated by restraining the patient according to the physicians' orders and confining him to bed or by applying ice bags to his head. The main thing is to diagnose the disease and treat the cause of the fever and take precaution to order the life of the patient in such a way that the fever may not be occasioned again.

Non-Violence

We have to examine carefully to locate the causes of totalitarian wars of the type we have gone through in the

last two occasions. Once we trace the cause we should have the courage of our convictions to face boldly the consequences of the treatment necessary to banish war from society, reorganize society and its mode of life on a basis that will not require periodical wars to set right its equilibrium. This means we have to build up our daily life on the basis of non-violence. A society based on such a foundation will eschew war for all time.

If we are honest to ourselves we shall find that these wars are caused by a lopsided development of our economic life. The quest for raw materials and fuel and need of control of markets are the hot beds where international wars are bred. We need to adapt our modes of living to fit into our capacity to satisfy our needs. If there is a discrepancy between these two we come into conflict with our neighbours. The immensity of the form of conflict does not matter. We have to avoid occasions that give rise to competition, greed and jealousy. Are we prepared to recast our lives on these lines ? Non-violent way of life will count nothing too dear a price to pay for goodwill and peace among men.

Our own analysis leads us to believe that self-sufficiency in primary needs is a sine qua non to the establishment of peace. No amount of ardent desire will help us unless we are prepared to remodel our national economic activity on these lines. Merely tampering with the symptoms will be of no avail as the provocative causes are left untouched.

Europe is sick unto death of war but it has no time to think of ways of avoiding it Its leaders are rushing the nations headlong into so called "Recovery programmes" which are heading them direct to the precipice. But for the voice of Gandhiji India seems inclined to follow suit Shall we wake up in time to be saved or shall we too be consumed in the approaching conflagration ?

December 1947 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XI
WORLD SECURITY

The much advertised San Francisco Conference has produced a scheme which it is claimed will make for peace and will guarantee the four freedoms for which it has been working. The method it had adopted is to entrust the policing functions to a group of "Big Powers" assisted by a few smaller ones. This group will wield the big stick and keep down the recalcitrant ones. In effect it is the old League of Nations with a few frills added, and we fear it will meet the same fate as its predecessor, as the basic evils in society which produce such holocausts as these World Wars have not been tackled at all. The remedy sought is too superficial.

In the history of mankind these attempts at making the world safer from the onslaughts of greed and avarice are not novel. In Christendom the Church, not content with reserving for itself the moral power consequent on its spiritual leadership but with the help and allegiance of other temporal States and with the sanction of physical force and violence, tried for centuries to play the role of arbiter and restore the rule of reason amongst nations; but the savage and barbaric hordes of Europe reduced its efforts to futility as these recurring World Wars have witnessed. The heart of man was not touched.

The attempt made by Islam was through ethnical means. They aimed at making humanity a brotherhood where all distinction of caste, colour and economic inequalities would be abolished. This method was much more successful but as it confined itself only to the followers of the Prophet, it did not naturally attain world-wide dimensions in practice. It has yet great unexplored possibilities.

In India, the Hindus of old launched on an elaborate plan to sterilize greed and avarice by setting up cultural standards of values, which will reduce the evils of economic competition and lay emphasis on the value of the development of personality. By the VARNASHRAM DHARMA the ones who exercised merely rights were put down as the lowest group. The profit seeking Vaisya had no high social status while the protector of the people, the Kshatriya, had a status all his own, independent of his wealth or material possessions. The dispossessed Brahmin, whose position of influence was based on the service of his fellowmen, occupied the pinnacle of respect. This sytem has also fallen short of its possibilities because in the course of time these distinguishing ideals were lost sight of and status was attached to birth rather than to the form of service rendered to society.

The San Francisco Conference granting the charter of World Security by the agreement and help of the "Big Powers" borders on the ludicrous. Whoever has heard of the small nations being a menace to World Security? It is the greed of the "Big Powers" that has plunged the

world in streams of blood from time to time. For these very miscreants to be asked to guarantee World Security is like entrusting the safety of our banking houses to a team of gangsters. What is needed is the disintegration and liquidation of these very "Big Powers" and a fundamental change in the economic outlook and organization.

We have to accept the fact that all modern wars are caused by economic competition for raw materials and markets. This competition is made keener still by a complex standard of living built up by a whole series of *artificially created wants which do not satisfy any natural* needs. This being so, there can be no world security until this malady is attacked. The remedy cannot be mere physical force and restraint caused by fear. The real cause has to be grappled with, and a solution found by *means of cultural forces which will counteract the acquisitive* tendencies of man and crush his selfishness. This calls for the setting up of standards based on simplicity of life and building up of character and personality. Only by such means will it be possible to secure to the world composed *of the weak and the strong, the simple and the sophisticated,* a state of affairs where all can follow their several avocations free from fear, want and slavery and enjoy freedom of thought and speech. In practice, to achieve this in the economic sphere it would be necessary to curb the profit motive and control the centralized industries and at the same time regulate our consumption in the light of real needs.

July 1945 *Grām Udyog Patrika*

XII
REASSURANCES

Speaking on the Report of the Atomic Energy Commission, President Truman expressed his satisfaction that in the past six months considerable progress has been made in every sector of the 350 million dollar project and stated that all who rely on the strength of the United States have reason for reassurance and faith.

The Report of the Commission itself announces that "new and more effective" atom bombs, tested on Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific last year, were being produced "on an industrial basis".

With the performance of the United States' contribution to civilization at Hiroshima fresh in one's mind, one would be forgiven if one questions the meaning of "reassurances". When a ruthless giant, with a garland of skulls round his neck, grins with satisfaction at the sharpness of his weapons, is it "reassuring"? Of recent times the two world wars have proved beyond doubt man's inability to bring peace through armament. The moral stature of modern man lags far behind his intellectual attainments. The former has to control the latter if the conflict between the good and evil is to show a balance in favour of good. In this world of ours, as at present constituted, it will be too

much to expect that the good can have its own all along the line. Hence it is rather disturbing to peace-loving nations to find an aggressive wrestler patting his biceps in the traditional way showing his readiness to take up any challenge. Let the world beware !

The background to this performance was provided at the United Nations Conventional Armaments Commission which sought to inaugurate a world census of non-atomic weapons and armed forces. Why atomic weapons should have been left out is rather ominous. Under the present conditions of armaments, it would appear that the Commission is to function for the atomic weapon holders. This position was clearly brought out by M. Seymon Tsarapkin, the Russian Delegate to the Commission, when he stated his opinion that the United States seem to be engaged in an armed race as the ground work for World war III. He felt that there was an armament fever in the United States with the propaganda for war against Russia. These are indications, which when backed with the major appropriation of the budgets of many nations for military purposes, auger ill for the peace of the world.

Naturally, it is not possible to lay bare such activities before the common man. To throw dust in the eyes of the unsuspecting public, the Atomic Enegy Commission includes a few experiments carried out for medical purposes and states that relatively inexpensive radio-active cobalt may eventually prove to be a better treatment for cancer than radium.

Having stated this as an opiate they proceed to discuss the possible extension of the sources of uranium and plutonium, which at present they are getting from Belgian Congo and Canada.

When we scrutinize these statements in a detached manner it makes us wonder if civilization has entered into a suicide pact. It appears to us, this aggressive policy is being pursued by a handful of people in the few financially strong nations of the world today. Millions of our citizens are peace-loving and absolutely ignorant of the nefarious devices of the handful. Is this democracy ? If democracy is to assert itself, it is time that those of us who desire peace and have no intentions on other people's property, should band ourselves together to put out of court all military preparations, which though ostensibly be for peace, are in reality for aggression. We must confess with sadness that India, with its newborn freedom, is also "arming for peace". Is it not time that we took our lessons from the past and re-ordered our house in the interests of civilization and culture ?

September 1949 — *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XIII
BERLIN WARNS US

Berlin must have been a most beautiful city. It was among the leading five cities of the world. In the lay out and architecture probably it had to share the honours only with Paris, if at all. Now little of all that is left. The palaces have been reduced to ashes. A good deal of the debris has nat yet been cleared. Yet there are crowds of people. One wonders where they all come from

In 1914, when Germany sent her zeppelins on to London and dropped those enormous bombs, it little realised that one day the whirlwind of destruction will sweep out its own abodes. All that one sees of the once beautiful city is just burnt out walls with the major portions crumbling down. The facades that still stand only declare the past glory. The destruction of human beings, men, women and children, that must have taken place, has left no traces, but it is terrific to contemplate. Material destruction can be as nothing before this human loss and suffering. Under the Kaiser and under Hitler-Germany had drawn the sword and now we bear witness as to what happens to those who lay their faith on the strength of arms.

In the first war Germany fell but rose again quickly, but after the second war her recovery has been pitiful,

whatever the cause may be. Now there is a serious plan to help her on to her feet and let her arm herself to her teeth. Not only Germany but the whole world does not seem to have drawn any lessons from the past experience. The prospects are too terrible to contemplate.

The Americans, with their satellite countries, are rapidly drawing in battle array against the Soviets. Had the last two global wars no lessons to teach us? Let not our second state be worse than the first.

Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, believes that in the past armaments led to war and destruction, but he thinks God is going to deal with the U.S.A. differently. The course of history cannot be changed even to please Uncle Sam. At the moment America is arming herself to the teeth with the most deadly armaments. This looks as though her end is in sight. Let her beware.

August 1952 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XIV
"THE GLORIOUS VIOLENCE"

In times past wars were more or less confined to self-seeking leaders who went to wage war with their neighbours either for self-aggrandizement, revenge or loot. In all these cases these leaders gathered round themselves men of the type of brigands, outlaws and riff-raffs of society who carried out their behests with zest, as these sadists were so built to enjoy inflicting cruelty on others. We have examples of these in Chengez Khan, Alexander the Great, Nadir Shah and Napolean.

As the Industrial Revolution came along and centralized industries with their manufacturing factories situated in one country, with their raw materials being drawn from different parts of the world and seeking markets for their finished products elsewhere, came into being, the need for controlling politically the raw material producers and markets and safeguarding the high ways became great. This realisation of the necessity for political control over other nations and policing the ocean routes led to the modern political organization commonly called Imperialism. With the expansion of centralized industries, some countries began to specialize in manufactures to the neglect of Agriculture. This increased the dependence of such countries further.

In the same measure as the dependence on others increased they had to increase their command over the producers of raw material and food. This lead to the growth of organized violence which more or less synchronizes with expansion of centralized industries and is an inseparable Siamese twin of this method of production.

With the need of violence in Industrial Interests, it became necessary to elevate what was once murder, dacoity and brigandage to the dignity of national service, so as to clothe those engaged in it with respectability and harness the youthful patriotism and idealism of the younger generation. In Great Britain they enhance the status of all offices in the Army, Navy and Air Forces to one of a noble profession. To clothe them with sanctity they put up memorials for distinguished fighters and large-scale killers in places of worship such as St. Paul's Cathedral or the Westminister Abbey. Such was the method adopted to glorify violence in the West.

To enthuse young people it was necessary to harness their emotions also to the war chariot. This was done by organizing propaganda on hate of other countries and their culture. Ultimately the result of this is what we find today in Europe-devastation, whole-sale destruction, starvation and nakedness. Violence has not yet proved a satisfactory means of bringing about or maintaining peace. On the other hand, it is the one weapon which has stood between the common man and peace and prosperity.

In India, we had not reached the stage of industrialization which would demand the upsetting of our moral codes and standards of values. But it would seem as though we are fast drifting on to the dangerous waters in which Europe has found its doom. Pt. Jawaharlal is confusing military power as a means of attaining peace. He sings the same old song as many before him had sung when he declared at the time of welcoming the Cruiser H. M. I. S. "Delhi", "That we shall always remain in this country as men of peace and that our country will ever remain devoted to peaceful objects and pursuits" and added "*Unfortunately in this world today it is not enough to* merely desire peace. One has to have the grit and strength to keep the peace and sometimes to make others keep peace. So in this world any country which seeks freedom and independence must be strong enough to maintain it". Does this not sound as an echo of what we have heard the various European statesmen hold out to their people a few years ago as the reason for arming themselves to the teeth ? Apart from this Pt. Nehru probably forgets that the Cruiser runs on mineral oil which will not be available to us should a state of belligerency arise, in which case we may have to take to charcoal or build up an armada of back water Kutmorans ! (Madras type of fishing boats).

A statement of this kind may easily be passed over as the emotional ebullition of our youthful *Prime Minister.* But soon after comes a declaration by the Deputy Prime

Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that the Government had revoked the previous decision to keep down the strength of the Indian Army and have embarked on a policy of expansion of the Indian Defence Forces.

As though this was not enough, our Governor-General speaking at the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun assures us that "Everybody in India now is war-minded. Everybody talks of war and wants war". He goes on to glorify the profession of murder and destruction as a noble one. He waxes eloquent with the following words, "Of all the professions in India today—whether it is the doctor's, the sanitary officer's, the lawyer's, the teacher's the civil servant's or the barber's—of all the professions, high and low in this country, the Army is the most popular profession among the people, popular not in the sense that they all like to join the Army, but popular in the sense that they love the Army. There is no greater encouragement or pleasure to people than to be loved by other people. That is the biggest addition to your salary.

"Over and above the money you get as salary you have the current of the living love of the people. The old commanders-in-chief and other senior military officials, including the old subedars, did not get it. But today everybody loves you. Therefore every rupee that you are now getting from the Government is a golden rupee, no a silver rupee. It is gilded with the love of the people and you are, therefore very lucky.

"I wish I were young. I would have surely joined the Army, if for nothing else at least for the pleasure of being admitted here and taught as a cadet in this institution." We sympathise with him in that he is unable to join the forces to take an active part in this "Noble" profession. Like the Prime Minister he adds a post-script; "I wish no war should come and overtake us and that we should always be threatening and never have to wage war. It is good to keep your fangs like a cobra in your mouth but not bite anybody. We have to keep arms but it is not good to wage war." May we humbly remind our great Governor-General that these were the sentiments that governed the Americans before Hiroshima, but the atom bomb proved too strong for their pious resolutions? Let us beware and not play with fire.

May 1949

XV

INFANTICIDE

One of the methods of controlling over-population practised since time immemorial is infanticide. Centralized method of production, if it is not to commit suicide, has also to resort to controls. Price mechanism is a well-known practice. Cartels, combines and trusts also play such a role. But these have mostly been used to check production of supplies. To meet the requirements of war, production had to be given loose reins to build up reserves. Now that the need has passed, these reserves, if allowed to enter the market, will depress business. These goods, that formed the reserves, have already been paid for out of public funds. Hence to keep them from the market for consumption goods the surest and easiest course is to destroy them. Periodical destruction of over production is essential to centralized industries. To say that it is irrational is to confess that one does not understand the rudiments of centralized industries in consumption goods.

Therefore we read that aeroplanes and Rolls Royce engines are being destroyed at Bakshi-Ka-Talab aerodrome and that at Phaphamow about two thousand bicycles were laid on the ground and steam rollers went over them. Though this seems the height of madness, yet we must accept this

as being all in the day's work as long as we countenance the use of large scale centralized production units. The present economic order cannot function without such periodic destruction by wars, while there is business depression and by steam rollers while there is over production. To appear surprised at such essential destruction can only be described as "naive".

What is taking place is not "vandalism" but infanticide of large scale industries.

June, 1946 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XVI
THE COW AND PEACE

Breeds of Cattle

Cattle breeding is a science practised of old in India. 150 years back the East India Company was developing sturdy bulls for drawing their gun-carriages. Even now we find in certain Government farms like the one at Hissar the same old and obsolete policy in vogue. At about the same period Tipu Sultan had developed a fast running breed of bullocks which served him in the Army. Lord Wellesley, who had used these in his army, was so impressed by them that during his battle at Waterloo, he is said to have exclaimed at one time when his tired horses failed to reach the goal "Alas ! had I those Mysore bullocks, they would not have failed me".

All over India we find different breeds of cattle. Many of these have been intentionally and intelligently bred. Now also when we want to develop the cattle wealth of the country, we ought to know the direction in which we are to proceed. There are few points which

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A speech delivered at a recent Shibir of Go Sevaks at Pipri, Wardha, who had collected there from various states of India for a Seminar.

may be well kept in view when we want to breed our cattle. Firstly, each locality has its individual requirements according to the type of work to be done and the climate and other conditions. Over and above this, even in the same locality all people will not require the same type of bullocks. A farmer with a small holding, with work for lesser bullock power, would need a smaller bullock which he can maintain on the fodder produced in his small field; whereas a bigger farmer's requirement will be different. *Thus we shall have to provide in each locality various types of bullocks—small, medium and big—according to the needs* of the agriculturists. I feel that a mere dual purpose cow will not do for all time. We should not sacrifice special qualities for getting an average. Specialization in bullocks is a felt need. For this purpose we may not have at present a sufficient number of stud bulls to develop different types of bullocks. If we go on as we do with scrub bulls our stock is bound to deteriorate. It may not be possible to wait till we get adequate numbers of good bulls. Under the circumstances we may have to resort, for the time being, to what is called artificial insemination. I hesitate to put these suggestions before you. But I have stated the problem and a short range solution for your consideration.

Cow's Status

The cow touches all our economic activities. This had been recognised even in ancient times. That is why

great importance had been attached to 'the cow'. Why Gandhiji took to the cow was for reasons deeper than this. To him 'cow' symbolized all cattle wealth. The service of the cow was to bring him nearer to his goal of truth and non-violence. All his programme sprung from this root.

Man has utilized resources of power other than manual labour for the production of his utility articles. Prior to the discovery of the power of steam, man in the West used horse as the main motive power. Here in the East cow ruled—cow and its progeny, the bullock. We find that as the so called industrial era dawned, the economy of the West shifted from the horse to the coal and steam and thence to petroleum. This shift meant greater and greater violence. Thus a stress on cow means bringing back mankind to its proper moorings.

Causes Of War

When we use the cow and cattle wealth as helpers in our production there is a natural limit to the quantity of production in comparison to the state of affairs that ensues when coal or other such resources of power are utilized, on the expenditure of which there can be no natural limit. Thus the self-sufficiency or the measure of it which is attainable in a cow economy is distorted and disturbed when we depart from it. When the quantity of produce increases, markets are to be sought for it. Europe's hunt for the markets in the last two centuries was motivated by this economic factor. Thus as soon as man changed over from

horse economy to coal economy violence became necessary. They fought with each other for markets. The result was the first World War—when the countries depending upon the coal economy fought with each other for the possession of market areas.

Nature Of Resources

The race towards death did not stop here. It continued ahead. The resources of power given by nature are of two categories. One type is perennial in nature belonging to the vegetable and animal kingdoms. These may be called the 'current resources'. And the other type is in short supply in nature like coal, iron, petrol and the like belonging to the mineral kingdom. These are not being manufactured under the bowels of the earth and their exhaustion means lessening in the total quantity available. These limited resources may be called the 'reservoir' type. It is when man depends more and more upon the latter type of resources that violence increases. Thus whereas from cow to the coal was one step towards violence, coal to petrol was a leap further towards the abyss. The last conflagration got the whole world under its sway. The second World War was a natural corollary when exploiting countries fought, not only for their markets, but also to control the motive power producing areas. These petrol pockets, distributed over a dozen countries of the world, became the bone of contention over which the whole world fought. If we want to bring about a change towards peace

we should depend more and more on the current type of resources for our motive power and 'the cow', which provides the bullocks belonging to that type, stands for it. Hence the cow becomes symbolic of an economy of peace.

It is in this respect that I would like you to view the cow and all it stands for. Go Seva is a movement for world peace. From the mad rush to exhaust the reservoir resources of nature we want to bring humanity to realize its folly and take the help of the perennial motive power available to man in the form of our friends the cattle. We should have a whole picture of the kind of world we want. Go Seva should help us to bring it about. I wish and hope that you will have this all round attitude and try to bring it into practice. You would do nothing which goes against 'the cow'. The mills and all the economy which depends upon 'reservoir economy' is an enemy of the cow economy and will precipitate violence in the world.

January 1953 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XVII
SOVIET CONTRIBUTION

We must distinguish between different forms of "Peace." We may have the grave-yard peace when one nation is crushed beyond resistance by another and is kept lifeless and listless. We may sit on a volcano by conquering a nation and keeping it subdued by military occupation. The defeated nation will be smouldering underneath with hatred until an opportunity occurs when it will blow up into open revolt. Then we may have peace because both parties are not sure of their respective might and are biding their time to gather strength. This is temporary like an armistice.

None of these states can be termed real peace. Mere inactivity without cordial relations with the neighbours is no peace. Real peace cannot be obtained by external gifts but has to be developed from within. Peoples should be contented with their lot and be able to provide their needs out of their resources, trade between nations being limited to exchange of proved surpluses and luxury goods. This means that every nation should work towards a state of self-sufficiency in primary needs.

A broadcast from Moscow.

This is the type of peace that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is working towards. International Trade is through Government channels and the country is being organized on a basis which will ensure material self-sufficiency on a reasonably fair standard of living while social and cultural needs are provided for. If such conditions can be stabilised the world over, we shall have lasting peace.

Gandhiji had told us that God can appear to a hungry man only in the form of Bread. Acting on this principle the Soviets have concentrated on the production of food and prime necessities. It can be safely said that every citizen of Soviet Russia is being assured of the right to live in reasonable comfort. To do this, great efforts have been made to woo nature to get her to yield bounteously.

Vast tracts of land that have been marshy swamps have been drained. Thousands of hectors of parched ground where water supply was hardly known have been made into smiling fields of grain or turned into orchards laden with fruits by the construction of an elaborate system of irrigation works. All cultivable lands, including these reclaimed lands, have been parcelled out in the form of collectives. Thus the farmers, organised cooperatively in this way, work without fear of exploitation, as they know they will receive the fruits of their lobour. Therefore they put in their very best to produce as much as possible. An elaborate system of adult education is spread through their radio and cultural palaces to make the results of the

latest scientific research brought to their very doors. Thus assured of their security the people work with redoubled effort aimed with the strength of group action.

A well planned system of afforestation not only supplies large quantities of needed types of wood but also affects the climatic conditions favourably and protects the crops from destructive winds.

When the needed commodities have been produced, the producer is assured of his returns by a well laid out exchange system regulating rationally the movement of goods by a State managed price policy. The working of this exchange is affected by means of internal currency management. The rouble is but a coupon. It has neither the power of accumulation nor any value as a reservoir of purchasing power in so far as it cannot be used for interest earning investments. The result is the stores are packed with jostling crowds in a rush to exchange their money into a variety of consumer goods with which the shops are stocked to a bursting point. There is a plentiful supply of food and prime needs and, one may say, even of semi-luxury goods.

To enable all this to work together smoothly the wages are fixed both according to the skill involved and according to the desirability of the contribution. It is not rare to find a good worker in a factory whose monthly income is well above the remuneration of a professor at the University.

Various incentives are provided to sustain enthusiasm. The good worker not only gets more purchasing power but is made into a hero by having his achievements made known publically. He is adorned with decorations and awarded prizes. This places before others example for their emulation. Thus production is encouraged, while the worker gets his satisfaction financially and socially and is made conscious that he is an important member of the local society and thereby of the nation also.

Workers realise that they are not mere dumb driven cattle but are serving the nation in a fundamental function. They are taught to look at themselves in the perspective of the nation and its needs.

To increase production the tempo of work and living is not accelerated to a point to wear out the worker. They are provided with excellent social outlets for the expression of their personality. Theatres, which were once the preserve of the upper classes, are now open to them both to contribute as artists and enjoy as participants. Their lives are enlarged by music, art and dancing. These instruments are directed to uplift the cultural level of the workers.

The tired workers have sanatoriums and rest houses where they can recoup themselves.

On the whole it may be said that the life here is well regulated and disciplined for the welfare of all concerned. The family tie has been strengthened and there is religious freedom to follow and practise their individual faith.

There is an elaborate programme of house construction to provide adequate accommodation for all. Their public buildings are not mere piles of brick and mortar but they are artistically pleasing. Their contribution to the well-being of the people cannot be gauged on the physical plane only.

A nation that is busily engaged in reconstruction in this manner and in contributing consciously to the life and culture of the human family, cannot be said, by any stretch of imagination, to be desiring war conditions. War will go counter to all their present activities and put back their progress. They are proud of their achievements and will lay down their lives in pursuit of their goal. They are a sturdy, hospitable and well meaning people. Their very life is a denial of hatred. Conflicts can have no roots in it. Their desire for peace is not a mere put up show but is an outgrowth of their day to day life. It is basic.

In our own country, if we too desire peace we can only build it by engaging ourselves in such work of reconstruction. In so far as physical conditions, social customs and culture differ in the two countries our methods of approach and ways and means adopted by us will necessarily differ but our common goal of peace is the same.

We have famine, disease and pestilence to fight against. Nature seems angry with us. Society and powers that be frown on us. How shall we meet the situation ? We have to win over nature, as the Soviet Republics have

done, by reclaiming land, irrigating it and by educating the farmers to cultivate their holdings, not for personal gains but for the good of the nation. In the first instance, land as a means of exploitation has to be put an end to We have to bring hope and faith into the work of the tiller. We have to seek his well-being. He is the foundation of society in our social order. Without his active cooperation the builders of the nation will attempt to build in vain. The centre of our activity for a permanent peace must be founded on reconstructing agricultural and village life on a rational and reasonable basis. We have to attain self-sufficiency in food and primary needs as the Soviet Republics are striving to do. We too must restrict foreign trade in such commodities. This was the teaching on the material side of life of Gandhiji—the Prophet of Peace. The Soviet Republics are putting it into practice in their own way. We have yet to take to this real work for peace seriously. No foreigners can help us far. We have to work out our own salvation with a living faith in ourselves and firm hope in our goal. If every nation followed this policy there will be no wars, and nations will live in peace with goodwill towards their neighbours. Long live Peace. Shanti. Shanti. Shanti.

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XVIII
NON-VIOLENT ECONOMY AND WORLD PEACE

How, in the present context of the world, can we obtain security and peace ? On all sides we are faced with insecurity–personal, political, economic and social. This has brought about terrific conflict among the nations. As my space is limited I shall confine myself to the outlining of the economic causes of insecurity and its remedy.

Paper agreements and appeals have little effect in bringing about lasting peace. The seed of war and international tension lies largely in the field of economics. So if we want to deal effectively with war we must study the present day methods of production, distribution and consumption. War is the end-result of the friction generated in the daily life of everyone of us, and is not the result of the evil doings of one or two outstanding world figures. If anything, such world figures are but the victims of our greed to benefit from the weak position of our neighbours.

By nature most of our countries are blessed with resources which if we handle in a proper and rational way, we shall generate peaceful living for all of us. It is the attempt of the more powerful to turn conditions in their own

favour, that brings nations into conflict and turns our neighbours into enemies.

Resources

The least that each nation can do is to aim at being able to provide its people with food, clothing and shelter. After that, if any resources of land, water and minerals are available, we may enter into trade and commerce by attempting to supply the demands of luxury and enter into foreign exchange of goods. Any maladjustments and misdirections lead us into trouble.

For instance, Indo-China produces nearly 85% of the world's supply of rubber. But it cannot by any stretch of imagination, use all this production. Most of the highly developed and industrial countries need such raw materials. How can they get at this basic need? Only by controlling the direction and production of this material. To do this the foreigners attempt to get hold of the country. This is the basis of all colonialism. The people of Indo-China, instead of producing so much rubber, should lay stress on the production of the materials for their own food,clothing and shelter and promote primarily industries conducive to such an economy. Only such direction of their economic life will bring contentment for the large masses of their people.

Similarly, Ceylon produces chiefly tea and rubber. What can be done with such an economy? Ceylon is an island. It can be easily controlled by a naval power and

made to surrender its economic life to the needs of the foreign manufacturers as it imports all its requirements of cotton yarn and most of its food. Whatever wealth is made by its trade remains mainly in the hands of the exporters and importers and leaves the country in insecurity as people could not eat the rubber or clothe themselves in tea-leaves if the island were surrounded by interested parties. Hence their safety lies in moulding their economic life to suit their national requirements.

Treasures in an open house tempt the passerby. If we do not wish robbers to visit our houses we must keep our doors closed. Our natural resources are our patrimony. Manchuria has a wealth of coal. It was this attraction that made Japan conquer Manchuria. We should plan our mining operations according to our needs and not trade on it. When our hidden treasures get exhausted it leads to violence. As far as possible we must live within our own resources and conserve them for our future generations. It is the extravagant use and exploitation of petrol that is driving America to seek violently other fields in Transjordan Iran and Borneo. That has made her a belligerent nation. For this we need long term planning.

Employment

Every raw material presents opportunities of employment. The export of raw materials, therefore, deprives the locality producing the raw material of the possible employment. For this reason, as a rule, the people of the

locality must work on the raw materials available and should be paid adequately. Then there will be no "under-developed' countries, for every country will engage itself in producing all the goods it needs that can be made out of its own raw materials, and exchange its surplus for other articles it cannot otherwise obtain

Method of Production

Thus far we have seen how to utilize our resources. Now we must consider how we should proceed to convert our raw materials into consumer goods especially in under-developed countries Most of the countries of Asia are under-developed / They all represent an enormous labour power which is largely unused or under employed This indicates that as far as possible we should avail ourselves of this power In the first instance at least this does not call for 'labour saving' devices, but methods of production involving increased labour forces. In this way, we shall be able to bring satisfaction to everyone of this neglected section of people

Wages

The amount of returns to be paid to our workers must be based on what is needed to maintain him or her on a full diet and on a reasonable and suitable standard of living. At present, in capitalist countries especially, the price of commodities controls wages Wages are largely an elastic factor—the higher the market price and profit the better will be the wages It should not be so at the basic wage

level. The elastic element is in the nature of a profit and so should not be brought into the equation at the wage level. Basically workers should be paid what is needed to maintain them throughout the year

In India our landless labour has work mostly during the monsoon or rainy seasons and then at a very low starvation level They should be paid enough to maintain them throughout the year on a reasonable standard. This will immediately put up the prices of agricultural products, which will lead to a better distribution of wealth and satisfaction. Dissatisfaction is one of the fertile seeds of conflict.

Cost to the Producer

In the so called "under-developed" countries the producer of primary products rarely gets a square deal. Every producer is entitled to have his upkeep included in the price of the finished product. If anything less is recovered for the producer from the consumer's price there results violence through exploitation. This multiplied results in dissatisfaction and wars.

In our country, the landless labourers are starving because the prices of raw materials do not provide for their adequate maintenance. If they did, the prices would rise. Are we, as consumers, prepared to pay honestly for what we get ?

Prices to be fair should be regulated by the producers and others concerned. For this purpose at present there is no adequate organization, with the consequence that what

is due to the primary producer, who is the weakest number on the line, is cut down to a minimum.

Place of Agriculture

Agriculture should not be treated as an industry and should not exist on the price mechanism. We all know the scandals caused by burning a good harvest of wheat, to raise the prices, by reducing the stock. Such acts must be regarded as utterly anti social and dealt with accordingly.

In certain quarters in the West there is much appreciation of the Bhoodan Movement but the spirit of it remains untranslated into action as they have not yet found the counterpart of it in industrialised countries They express their sympathy but have no land to donate ! A programme like Bhoodan need not be copied in all its entirety. What is essential is to give vent to the spirit of sharing

In the West, the machinery for sharing exists but it is brought into play from the wrong end and so has resulted in exploitation and violence What is wanted is to adapt this machinery for sharing in such a way that it will generate non-violence

This machinery for sharing, as developed in the West, has three parts. The first is the price mechanism, the second labour unions and the third, propaganda, advertisement and high pressure salesmanship. All these are now used to exploit and extract an undue share of material wealth for oneself If this same machinery is put on the

reverse gear it can be used for sharing so as to promote non-violence and social harmony.

Price Mechanism

Middlemen fix prices with a view to increasing customers By a larger turnover and a low price they hope to increase their own gains Consequently they cut down the share of the price that should go to the primary producer and leave him with hardly enough to support himself. In price fixing the producer of the raw materials should have a voice. His share should be calculated on the basis of what he requires to maintain himself and his family all through the year on a reasonable standard of living A great many primary producers, like the landless in India, are starving. Such a situation cannot be tolerated in an equalitarian society and if left unremedied for a long time will end in violence

If the price includes enough for the raw material producer and if this extra has to be paid by the consumer such price is bound to be high So there will be fewer consumers involving a loss to middlemen Consequently giving a due share to the raw material producer will entail a sacrifice on the part of both middlemen and consumers This is the sharing that has to be accomplished through the price mechanism At present, the less industrialised and under-developed countries are left at the mercy of highly industrialised countries and are being impoverished steadily This situation also calls for justice and fair-play. Will the

industrialised countries be prepared to part with their illgotten share ?

Labour Unions

The function performed by labour unions to extract an increased share for labour, by collective bargaining, by organizing strikes etc. is somewhat suicidal and is largely based on force and coercion. Such sharing should be brought about through voluntary means by mutual understanding and negotiation. Will the employers be reasonable enough to mete out justice and reduce their own share of profits ?

Propaganda, Advertisement and Salesmanship

At present various dubious methods are used in telling half truths and white lies to dupe the public, by advertising goods to be what they are not. Unwary customers are thus made to part with their purchasing power for unneeded goods or oven for unwanted articles. Honesty has to be introduced in the place of high pressure salesmanship and enslaving devices, like the part payment system, should be abandoned if customers are to live within their means. This calls for vigilance and proper education of the public and national workers.

Dissemination of information as to cost

Today the consumer does not know what constituent items he is paying for in the price. He knows of a "fixed" price. This he pays and fully believes that he has discharged his duty honestly. If only the consumer knows that the price he is paying is not fair but is too low to give an

adequate return to the producer, he himself will probably not be at peace It is therefore our duty to make available to all concerned, full information as to the spread of the cost of an article

If, for example, the smoker knew that the tobacco he smokes is produced under conditions which lead to the starvation of other people his conscience will not allow him to patronise that brand of tobacco We must bring this moral forçe into play in the economic sector

To work out this programme we have to educate buyers middlemen and the producers, we should organize the movement of goods rationally, and set up a strong machinery for the fixing of prices. Before undertaking all this we ourselves should be willing to make the necessary sacrifices

If we can organise the primary producer and the consumer by disseminating correct information regarding articles put out for sale, it will go a long way in introducing, even in highly industrialized places, the spirit of Bhoodan, the spirit, namely, of sharing equitably the gains of industry To serve in this way we need character and courage. This work is bound to create opposition from vested interests at least in the beginning Are we ready to face the situation and abide by the consequences in the interests of a great cause ?

By these means we shall be filling up also the gap that exists in wealth and opportunities between the so called

industrialized and the under-developed countries. Such a course will remove discontent and ease the tension which are the fruitful causes of war. It is only such fundamental reorganization of our economic order that can bring in lasting peace. We cannot afford to lose time and effort on makeshift arrangements that will break down at the first approach of any stress or strain on the various component parties. This way is worth pursuing if we desire permanent peace. Are we prepared to pay the price ?

Markets

The goods we manufacture must have a ready and local market. Wars are caused by attempts to control markets. It was such competition that drove the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan into devastating wars. The under-developed countries supply raw materials to and consume finished products from the industrialized countries. This creates fertile beds for colonies. Every country should be allowed to develop in its own way, without let or hindrance from outsiders. Foreign interference suppresses independence and leads to violence.

International Trade in surpluses only

When goods are produced they should first be available to the producing country and only the surplus left over should be free for export to other countries.

Discriminating Consumption

If collectively we are not able to bring about such non-interference, the citizens of under-developed countries

should be so educated as to develop into discriminating buyers.

They should not buy foreign articles where locally manufactured goods are available. This is a difficult policy to practice because of the temptation of cheap prices and perhaps better goods being available from elsewhere. But such a development of character is absolutely essential for the production of peaceful conditions We have to follow the tortoise in the economic field We have to draw ourselves into our national shell for protection, when the danger of exploitation presents itself This is the "Swadeshi' of non violence

Without studying this question minutely many persons are carried away by the talk of "World Markets'. Today such a talk is dope meted out by the capitalist The Soviet Union has set a good example in these matters by making foreign trade a state monopoly and by keeping foreign traders from entering the inside local market These measures ensure better wages and living condition to workers

I have, in passing cited these illustrations to bring out in relief the deep set causes of present day colonialism which gives rise to the cause of war in the economic field At present we witness the strange phenomenon of science and human effort struggling to produce more and more goods and yet, in most countries, the results of all this effort do not *seem to raise the people from poverty, starvation and distress* Of late, even human life is made very insecure

and such existence as we can expect is made one of worry and care. The modern weapons of mass destruction cause night mares throughout all the countries of the world. The present day methods of warfare need little to condemn them. Apart from the general, moral and social considerations the economic consequences are forbidding. The war brought about by imperialism destroys more than the good it brings to its few beneficiaries. The masses of people have nothing but destruction to gain by the transaction—not only material destruction but what is worse is the human demoralization and destruction. This one issue is in itself enough to condemn them.

Conclusion

Hence we see a great deal of our effort to obtain freedom from world tension lies in recasting our economic organisation. (1) The raw material producer must be given sufficient to maintain himself on a reasonable standard of living; (2) Prices must be fixed with such as the base, and the raw material producer must have a voice in fixing the prices of his produce; (3) Raw materials must be converted into consumer goods where the raw materials are produced, thus providing further opportunities of employment for the people of the locality; (4) The consumer must be educated to realize his duties towards the producer, and for this purpose he should be supplied authentic information about the component parts of the price of articles; and (5) Most international trade must be in surpluses.

Economic security and fair play is the foundation o goodwill. They alone will dispel suspicion, hatred an jealousy which disturb the peace of the world. Therefor to bring about world peace we have to find ways an means of liquidating the so called "under-develope countries" and be prepared to share the good things of th world equitably. This will make a big call on the industri alized countries. Are they prepared to make this sacrifice If not all our efforts towards peace will be short lived.

These points I have raised are only to urge that th Government of each country should follow the way whic meets the needs of its common population with an eye t their comfort and well-being, rather than from consideration of material accumulation of wealth. Until we shift our view point to meet the requirements of the people and reorganiz our economy to produce commodities needed by the masse of the people by our own efforts, leaving international trad as a residuary benefit, we shall not be able to bring abou world peace. We have to rationally organize each of ou countries for peace. Mere paper agreements with imperialist governments, however well meant, will not lead to a stable peace. Real and lasting peace can only be obtained when we are organized for it and it be the outcome of our action. Today war is definitely the result of our economic actions, similarly, by a change of approach we can and we must live for permanent peace. This needs a great determination and much courage to accomplish. If all under-developed countries realise this and stand as one man peace cannot be far off. May we all unite in this common purpose and live and die for the peace of the world!

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By Suresh Ramabhai)

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